

Dean and Dubbins: a year of compromise

# NO SELLOUT



EDWARD WINDSOR has proved to be a royal disappointment to the establishment. He is a royal wimp. Striking News International printers are made of sterner stuff.

They have never disappointed us. All militants, all class conscious workers, all communists salute the staying power, grit and fighting spirit of our heroic brothers and sisters.

Their determination to win, their refusal to be bought off by Murdoch's series of 'final offers' and their courage in the face of police intimidation and terror stands in contrast to the pampered royal's lack of stamina. Their struggle has won a place in the annals of working class history alongside the miners Great Strike of 1984-5.

If only the leaders of Sogat and the NGA had half the guts of the rank and file NI strikers, Murdoch would have been beaten long ago. If only the leaders of the TUC were not so like the royal wimp.

Reformist politics fosters flabbiness, softness and wimpiness in the upper echelons of the trade union bureaucracy. As a consequence our trade union leaders have proved no match for the tough wheeler dealer Murdoch.

In fact they have played right into his hands. They were outmanoeuvred, outmatched and outwitted.

Certainly because of their fear of militant class struggle Dean and Dubbins were pathetically and willingly taken for a ride by Murdoch's clever negotiators.

While they talked, Murdoch recruited scab labour (courtesy of the EETPU) and got his Wapping plant on line. Murdoch was then ready to collapse the negotiation and provoke a strike. In other words Dean and Dubbins allowed Murdoch to choose the time and place for a battle which only the blind could not see coming.

Having cocked things up at the beginning, Dubbins and particularly Dean have proved miserable failures over the last year. At every crucial turning point hot air has been substituted for action. No thought was given to calling a national printworkers strike — that would have been illegal. Murdoch's court injunctions saw them run for cover and his last 'final offer' had Dean servilely urging submission.

Total defeat has only been prevented by London print union leaders constituting themselves an alternative centre of gravity and organisation. This alternative centre around militants like Mike Hicks, Tony Isaacs and Bill Freeman has time and time again been able to rely on the determination of the strikers

to defeat Dean's sellout moves. This fact must be recognised and respected.

Unfortunately, although a sellout has been blocked, there is no coherent, let alone winning, alternative strategy. To stay clear of the law, to evade responsibility for defeat Dean and Dubbins have channelled the whole dispute into a PR exercise to win the hearts and minds of the readers of the *Sun* and *The Times*. Ties with the trade union and labour bureaucracy, faith in Labourism and straightforward economism has meant the London leadership has gone along with Dean's hopeless strategy. Many class conscious workers were deeply disappointed that the jailing of Mike Hicks did not produce the immediate call for strike action from them.

Many remember that it was Mike Hicks who played a key role in bringing printers out on strike in 1972 in order to free the imprisoned dockers leaders. Rightly the perspective was raised by the likes of Tom Durkin for a movement to be built to free Mike Hicks, along the lines of the movement which freed the Pentonville Five.

The situation was full of possibilities. By running a Free Hicks campaign which centred on

penioning Douglas Herd, a golden opportunity was lost. True we saw extra numbers at the Wapping demonstrations. But we also heard even more hot air about crippling NI through stepping up the campaign to boycott the *Sun* and *The Times*. We have never denied the need for a boycott campaign and demonstrations, but we have always emphasised that, by themselves, they cannot beat Murdoch.

Murdoch is fighting a war of attrition. Like a World War I general he hopes to exhaust the enemy before they exhaust him. He has already sliced off 1,600 from the strike by getting them to accept his 'final' offer. He has a pliant scab workforce, the police and an array of anti-union laws in reserve. So Murdoch's position is strong, not least because of the cowardly nature of the trade union movement.

Tony Isaacs says he is looking forward to driving down the circulation of Murdoch's Wapping papers by 20% in 1987. If this were achieved would Murdoch capitulate? Frankly, we do not think so. He has now been producing his main titles without Sogat and NGA members for one year. Clearly so far he has suffered no major loss of circulation. Relying on Murdoch's debts in the US to force him to sue

for peace is an act of despair. NI profits for the three months up to the end of September 1986 nearly doubled compared with 1985. And half of this £50 million profit comes from the Wapping operation.

To stop Murdoch we have argued from the beginning that we need to reassert effective trade unionism. We say the law must be broken. Wapping must be seen in the context of a broad offensive against the entire working class. To fight back we must involve as many workers in action as possible. Firstly printers on the national press must be brought out. After all, if the printers do not take the lead no one will follow. With the printers leading off, other sections can be mobilised in a working class blitzkrieg that would send not only Murdoch into a panic but the whole ruling class.

Suggestions that by bringing out printers on all national dailies Murdoch will have no competition is not to see the wood for the trees. This view is blinkered by the boycott campaign and cannot see Wapping in its overall context in the class struggle. By going beyond the confines of boycotting the *Sun* the vistas of the whole class is opened up. Truly mass picketing of Wapping and Kinning Park then becomes feasible on a daily, round the clock basis. We want to see miners, nurses, steel workers, railway workers, bus drivers, local government workers etc joining printers in such large numbers that nothing can move in or out of Fortress Wapping.

We do not think any reliance should be placed on the leadership of Sogat, the NGA or the TUC. It is vital for rank and file strikers to take the running of the whole Wapping struggle in their own hands, through the formation of a cross union strike committee. The FoCs and MoCs should take up this challenge and, if they do not, others must.

The fact that Sogat, the NGA and the TUC have allowed Wapping to drag on for a year has cost other print workers dear. Thousands of jobs have already gone, and thousands more will go, unless Murdoch is brought to heel. An all-out print workers' strike demanding freedom for Mike Hicks, or even a large unofficial print workers' strike, could be used to spark into action a general working class offensive against job cutting newspaper barons, union busting bosses and the Tories anti-union laws.

We say:

- Overcome sectionalism through fighting for one union in the print industry. Establish an elected and recallable joint strike committee to run the NI strike.
- Organise effective mass picketing of Wapping, Kinning Park and all Murdoch plants. No compliance with TUC 'guidelines'. Build on the printers' hit squads. Transform them into Workers' Defence Corps and use them to defend the picket lines against police attack.
- Bring out all printers. Call upon all workers to take strike action, fight for general strike action to free Mike Hicks.
- Free Mike Hicks using the lessons of the Pentonville Five in 1972. Strike for Freedom. Send messages of support to Mike Hicks, c/o Ted Chard, Sogat House, 34, Britannia Street, London WC1

Jack Conrad





Fortnightly paper of the Leninists  
of the Communist Party of Great Britain

HAVING SUFFERED under the polemical lash of *The Leninist*, Straight Leftism has responded by taking a step to the 'left'. This move is tactical. Straight Leftism's 'left' turn is a sham.

To serve its new 'leftism', the dust covers have been put on the anti-Party strategy of CPGB affiliation to the Labour Party as a matter of principle. The 'left' line means the mandarins of Straight Leftism now spout fraudulent 'pro-Partyism' and catchpenny revolutionary phrasemongering, rather than undisguised liquidationism.

Although Straight Leftism cannot unite rhetoric with practice, the 'left' turn necessitates some sort of theoretical veneer. Unfortunately in their haste, because of a stultifying internal regime and the eclectic nature of centrism, the results have not been impressive. In fact what we see is often contradictory, laboured, confused and always expedient.

In the August 1986 edition of *Communist* (the Straight Leftist monthly) Heather Sanderson informs us that not only is the Communist Campaign Group "social democratic" but so is "the Heath wing of the Tory party." Moreover Sanderson goes on to claim "since the end of World War II" and "until the mid-seventies" all the imperialist countries, indeed all "the developed capitalist countries" were "run on broadly social democratic principles". Confronted with such a miserable, self serving, 'theoretical' device the CCGers we know are little worried by Straight Leftism. They quite rightly do not take seriously such accusations of social democracy from those who are behind the openly social democratic *Straight Left*.

Not surprisingly it is the acid test of Ireland where we see the contradictions inherent in centrism in their most pronounced forms. Sanderson takes to task communists who "have appeared more concerned to distance themselves from some of the necessary unpleasantness of the liberation struggle against imperialism" rather than "rouse the slightest serious solidarity movement."

This is certainly an accurate description of the record of Straight Leftism on Ireland.

Far from Sanderson's strictures on Ireland being an aberration, December's *Communist* features Steve Bilclough on the Hillsborough Accord. He pointedly refuses to criticise the Provisional republican movement. Like an born again member of the Little England RCG he proclaims the following supposed 'principle': "British progressives have no duty to express any opinion as to how the Irish people conduct their struggle."

Bilclough refuses to see that proletarian internationalism demands communists in Britain express their views. so does the simple fact that the crisis in the Six Counties stems from a British occupation.

Bilclough is surely trying to have it both ways when he disdains from voicing an opinion on the IRA's armed struggle. This dishonesty is compounded when he fails to even acknowledge that his position flies in the face of Straight Leftism's traditional 'they know best' refrain.

This 'principle' of automatically echoing overseas communist parties (as long as they are in the mainstream of our world movement) was enshrined in Straight Leftism's *The Crisis in our Communist Party — Cause, Effect and Cure* published under the name of Charlie Woods in 1983. This manifesto demanded communists must defer "to a country's Communist Party on questions mainly affecting it". (p9). So should not Bilclough defer to the Communist Party of Ireland when it attacks the liberation struggle conducted by the IRA as "reactionary" and "playing into the hands of imperialism?" We get no answer.

*The Editor*

## LETTERS

### Wapping

On Monday December 15, at 3am, about 300 pickets had a surprise picket at Wapping and held the gate for over one hour, some actually got into the plant, but only just.

Judging by the lack of copies of the *Sun* and *The Times* in our local shops at 8am on that day and the piles later in the day, I feel it was successful.

My main concern is the lack of 'official' support and back-up for the printers. Some organisations are more or less saying that they are defeated etc.

Although the outlook does not look too 'rosy', I feel it is a stab in the back to run headlines in the 'left' papers saying it is defeated and also using photos from *The Times*. I am of course referring to the Sparts' *Workers Hammer*.

There have been three ballots and despite the length of the strike each one has had a bigger rejection of Murdoch's offer and this I believe is unprecedented. Like the miners' strike, this is a milestone in the class war and also against government trade union laws.

On Mike Hicks, he did try to keep peace and order and often took demonstrations away from police lines, in fact took them away from the plant. However, it is right to call for his release but to do so without including other printers who have been jailed is just selective and also creates a 'cult of the personality'.

M Bass  
London

### Brent I

Apart from the general policy and situation, was not the argument in Brent about who employs the teachers? If so, then Brent as the Education Authority should have the right to hold a disciplinary hearing to get at the truth of the affair. Is Ms McGoldrick 'guilty' or are some petty officials in the Town Hall oversensitive or misinterpreting what she said? In this case, I do not know why you oppose Brent Council.

Albert Sinclair  
Leicester

### Brent II

However correct the class analysis you make of the opportunist nature of the conflict within the Communist Campaign Group in Brent (*The Leninist* No.43) and the careerism of leading councillors, you make a serious error yourselves.

To take a neutral stand 'neither the council nor the NUT but a revolutionary programme' lends support to the Tory attack. Socialists must defend Brent, oppose the NUT assault even if it means crossing their picket lines.

No socialist should recognise a reactionary picket. Only in this context can we argue for a revolutionary programme.

It also struck me as strange you never mentioned the role of the Euros in the leadership of the Brent Teachers Association, in all this. From my experience of them on the Brent Joint Staffs I found little difference between them and the Tories. They had terrible positions on equal opportunities and never missed a chance to attack the council from the right.

Perhaps this is because you do not wish to be reminded too often of the strange bedfellows there are in the CPGB.

Of course we do not reject reforms and even democratic agitation from the capitalist state

but point out that no serious gains can be got on race discrimination, oppression and poverty as long as capitalist exists.

Gerry Downing  
London W9

*Jack Conrad replies:*

Fundamentally, as comrade Sinclair points out, the dispute in Brent was between an employer on the one hand and workers on the other. Because of this we did not take a 'neutral stand' as Gerry Downing suggests. No, we gave critical support to a workers trade union against a local organ of the capitalist state. Why is that so strange? We want to win workers. We are out to expose Labourism in all its forms. Brent's Labour council is not a proletarian organ of power, its anti-racist policies are a sham and the black Labour members of Brent council, just like the white ones, are ladder climbing careerists, led by Kinnock, an anti-working class scab and of course counterrevolutionary. Gerry Downing is, we believe, a leading member of the WRP (*Workers Press*). That he advocates crossing the picket lines of Brent teachers in defence of Brent council puts him, on this question, well to the right of our Eurocommunists.

### Dirty tricks

It is my opinion that there were two main motives behind the disclosure that monies gained from the sale of arms to Iran were diverted to the Contras of Nicaragua.

CIA Director William Casey has admitted not only CIA involvement in the Iranian arms deals, but that the CIA set up the "sanitized" Swiss bank account. Furthermore a Congressional Democrat leader, Jim Wright, stated that Attorney General Edwin Meese "... Had described at least one of the transactions this way: arms were sold to the Iranians for 19 million dollars, after which the CIA reimbursed the Defence Department, three million dollars covering its costs. Of the 16 million dollars 'residue', some 12 million dollars were deposited in a numbered account for the Contras, and Contra leader Adolfo Calero drew out the money."

Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's spokesman read out, "The payment was transferred by an Iranian representative directly to a Swiss bank, according to American instructions, without passing through Israel" (*Ibid*).

This contradicts Mr Meese by asserting that the whole 19 million dollars, rather than 12 million, was deposited in the account. Perhaps he means that the CIA and the Contras had a joint account!! However, since Mr Meese has already indicated that the CIA handled the money, the following question arises. Is the suggestion by President Reagan that Colonel North of the National Security Council had access to a 'sanitized' CIA Bank Account, or that the CIA sent Colonel North the money? And for what purpose? It is much more credible that the CIA and North acted together. Is North a willing sacrifice or another CIA 'patsy'? Irrespective, the CIA was clearly linked to North! Yet the US Attorney General Meese has the audacity to declare, "No one at the CIA was aware of the Contra connection." Is he joking? Only those well practised in the art of self-deception could deny the undeniable fact that the CIA finances, trains and controls the Contras. In reality, 'money to the Contras' is money to the CIA to equip and maintain the Contras in their murderous attacks on an independent State, Nicaragua.

We have been told that 'on the initiative of Israel' talks had taken place prior to the Iranian arms deals. With the CIA's vast knowledge,

resources and experience, it is simply inconceivable that it played no part in these talks. The connection between the CIA, the National Security Council, and Israel is quite clear. To state that the CIA did not co-ordinate its own actions, but acted on two different levels, both unknown to each other, regarding the arms deal operation is totally incredible. Such an operation could only proceed from preparatory talks in which the CIA was involved to the hilt.

What emerges is not only that these talks, involving and created by the CIA, Israel, the National Security Council, Donald Regan and others, were responsible for the Iranian arms deals, but also that the 'money-drop' for the Contras was an intrinsic part of the strategy 'to kill two birds with the one stone'. These two aims were:

1. To illegally side-step Congressional restrictions on CIA funds in their gangster war against the Nicaraguan government.

2. The overthrow of the Khomeini regime in Iran by means of a military coup with additional American weapons dangled like carrots in front of ambitious Iranian military commanders.

Dermot Anderson  
Glasgow

### Import controls

If we oppose import controls, albeit temporary and selective, are we not opening the floodgates for cheap goods and helping to create unemployment in Britain? I realise we are internationalists but I sometimes wonder if we had selective controls would it not cause workers to fight for better conditions and also jobs. I am rather confused on this issue. Although I realise we cannot take a little England approach, would it not help foment a revolutionary situation?

Alex King  
Surrey

*David Sherriff replies:*

Precisely because the call in the workers' movement for import controls diverts from the struggle for better conditions, jobs and against the capitalist system itself, we oppose the Alternative Economic Strategy and all such reformist nostrums.

### Trust Kinnock?

For too long Britain has acted as a poodle for American foreign and economic policy. In the past, the Labour Party has been as guilty as the Tories. Mrs Thatcher's government has completely sold Britain out to the Americans.

I have studied Mr Neil Kinnock's speech to the Americans at Boston Massachusetts. In spite of some fundamental differences, I would like to congratulate him on his courage, I hope he will carry out the wishes of the Labour Party conference.

I feel positive that the vast majority of the people of Britain will support the Labour Party's policy of getting rid of US nuclear bases and all nuclear weapons from our soil.

Tom Hopkins  
Caerphilly

Note: Letters have been shortened due to lack of space. For political security we have changed certain names, addresses and details.

### WRITE OR RING

If you would like to reply to any of these letters, raise questions or comment on articles in *The Leninist* please write to The Editor, BCM Box 928, London WC1N 3XX. Or phone us on 01-431 3135.

Six months subscription rates: Britain and Ireland £5; Europe £8; Rest of World £10 (airmail £17.50). Annual subscription rates: Britain and Ireland £10, Institutions £20; Europe £16, Institutions £26; Rest of World £20 (airmail £35), Institutions £30 (airmail £45). Back copies: Issues 16 (theoretical journal) £45). Back copies: Issues 1-6 (theoretical journal) £1 each plus 25p p&p. Issues of paper (from issue 7) 30p each plus 10p p&p. All cheques payable to November Publications Ltd. Printed by: Morning Litho Printers Ltd. (TU), Unit 5 St. Marks Industrial Est., 439 North Woolwich Road, London E16 2BS. Published by: November Publications, BCM Box 928, London WC1N 3XX. World copyright January 1987



# STILL NO ANSWER

*There are two sides to every story. We talk again to Nick Wright and now the man at the receiving end of his anti-gay stewarding.*



COMRADE Nick Wright, prominent London Communist Party member and longtime Straight Leftist, has an awful lot of explaining to do. We first featured this photo in issue No 43 of our paper, towards the end of last year. It shows comrade Nick Wright, an employee of Haringey council, manhandling a gay activist who was attending a picket of the authority demanding that non-discriminatory text books be allowed into the borough's schools.

The point we made then, and one we have repeated since, is that comrade Wright, in order to retain any integrity as a communist, must come clean and clearly state what went on that night and what his general attitude is to the gay question.

We have repeatedly offered comrade Wright a chance to openly state his views and clear his name in the pages of our paper: this, unfortunately, he has refused to do.

*The Leninist* however, has not let the matter quietly drop. After some effort, we have managed to actually track down the gay activist, a man called Kevin Nolan, that comrade Wright is here pictured roughing up. Frankly, Kevin's version of events that night does not help clear the name of Communist Party member, Nick Wright.

**Kevin Nolan:** The balcony [inside the town hall] was nearly full, but not quite; there was still quite a bit of space. We looked at the people who were still left outside chanting — there were loads of them — so a few of us decided to try and let these gay activists in.

My friend Andy (he's the other guy in the picture) decided that the only way that we could let them in was by opening the doors, which were bolted at the time. We had to decide whether to wait for everybody else to come and join us before trying to open the doors, or just go and do it. We decided not to hang about waiting and to get the rest of the lobby inside the building.

So we run down from the balcony and then across to the doors. We initially got straight through the people who were standing around the door; that is, Haringey employees, porters and a couple of 'Parents'. I started to undo one door, but as I was doing this, I was pulled off the door by the other guy [i.e. Nick Wright — TL] and that's when the photo was taken.

He pulled me off, called me a "bastard", told me to "behave myself" then threw me onto the far side of the wall. There I quite badly damaged my wrist (and also lost my watch, which I was quite peeved about!) After that I just got up and ran off. Meanwhile, they had done the same thing to Andy...

Wright went in quite heavily

against me, enough to hurt my wrist. I had to wear a sling for days after the incident...

... Before I found out that this guy was in *Straight Left*, I actually thought he was one of the 'Parents Against Perverts' mob! I just assumed that it would have been the 'Parents' that behaved like that! That's why both Andy and I were shocked when we found out he was a member of the CPGB.

They were trying to prevent us letting more protesters in, despite the fact that there was still room inside. But the point is, whether there was room or not, those protesters should have been let in. They should have been allowed to enter the building to voice their support.

... As a gay activist I'm shocked in a way that this man is in the CP, but in another way I'm not. I know that some parts of the Communist Party are alright on gays, but I also know that other parts are not.

Initially, it just did not occur to me that he would be a member of the CP; I honestly thought that he was a 'Parent'! It just should not have happened. Communist Party members should not be doing that! It gives all the left a bad name.

There was already a reaction from some elements like *Capital Gay* against the 'macho left' and that type of attitude I don't believe is correct. But what we don't need is members of the Communist Party to be on opposing sides of the picket to us; that just alienates gays from the left. He should have been opening the doors to the gays, not guarding the building from them! He shouldn't have stopped us opening the doors, he should have been doing it himself. It was diabolical.

Clearly, what is at stake in this whole question is not simply the personal prestige of comrade Wright — if it were just that then *The Leninist* would hardly be devoting so much of our precious space to the question — but the fact that our Party has been brought into disrepute amongst gays and their supporters.

We once again gave comrade Wright a chance to explain his actions. Unfortunately, comrade Wright chose to place his petty factional hostility to *The Leninist* above helping us to clear the name of our Party.

We first informed comrade Wright that we had traced the gay involved in the scuffle with him that night, and that his version of events cast Nick very much in the role of an anti-gay thug. If the comrade had wanted to reinforce this impression, he certainly went about it in the right way:

**Nick Wright:** What's the name of this person?

*The Leninist:* Kevin Nolan.

**Nick Wright:** Have you got an address for him?

Quite why comrade Wright wanted to know where Kevin lived, we can only guess at. Of course, we refused to pass on this information and instead tried to finally pin comrade Wright down on this shabby incident. For reasons best known to himself, comrade Wright refused to answer our questions with anything other than petulant variations on the theme of "I don't want to talk to you about it". "Why", we asked?

**Nick Wright:** Well doesn't it logically follow that if I don't want to discuss it with you, then I also don't want to explain why?

*The Leninist:* No, that doesn't 'logically' follow at all, actually Nick. But tell us, comrade Wright, do you plan to take it further? Then at least we can keep a look out for your defence in gay publications or in the Party press.

**Nick Wright:** Well, do you plan to take it further?

*The Leninist:* We certainly do, Nick.

**Nick Wright:** Who is this Kevin Nolan?

*The Leninist:* What do you mean 'who is he'? He is simply the person you were pictured roughing up on the night of that picket.

**Nick Wright:** Yeah, well I'm glad he's identified himself.

We were a little disturbed by comrade Wright's obsessive interest in the personal details and whereabouts of Kevin Nolan. We even asked Nick if it was because he planned to make a personal apology. He rather quickly disabused us of that notion however.

**Nick Wright:** Do I plan to make a personal apology? What should I apologise about?

If comrade Wright is truly baffled as to whom he should apologise to and what for, let us offer him some help.

● Firstly, he should apologise to Kevin Nolan for disgracefully attacking and injuring him.

● Secondly, he should apologise to the gay activists who attended the lobby that night and who have a right to expect that a communist like Nick acts like a communist and stands shoulder to shoulder with them against reaction.

● Thirdly, he should apologise to the Communist Party itself for chauvinistically disgracing our name amongst the oppressed. But then comrade Wright, if you genuinely have nothing to hide, come out and give your version of events: as it is, you stand condemned by your silence. And make no mistake, comrade Nick Wright and Straight Leftism, we certainly plan to take this matter further...

## PARTY PIECES

Readers will be pleased to learn that *Turkey Today*, the English Publication of *Worker's Voice* (*Işçinin Sesi*), has ended its self imposed suspension. This suspension was due mainly to demands of the swiftly developing situation in Turkey itself. Obviously it was absolutely essential to channel all available resources into developing communist work in Turkey. Now *Worker's Voice* is printed on illegal presses inside the country, in four different centres; Leninists have taken a lead in strike actions and have made significant steps forward in the trade unions. These exciting developments mean *Turkey Today's* content and form are somewhat different than in the past. More emphasis is given to the political activities and theoretical analysis of the Communist Party of Turkey — *Worker's Voice*. This is something we very much welcome. Each month this will make available to the English speaking public documents from a truly Leninist party operating in a storm centre of the world revolution. This, to any true revolutionary, is worth its weight in gold. While the social democrats are in disarray and much of the left find itself ensnared in entryist intrigue *Worker's Voice* has stood virtually alone in its principled stand on vital issues such as the struggle for democracy, the need for trade union unity and defence of the right to self-determination of the Kurdish people. Because of this *Worker's Voice* has attracted support even beyond the expectations of its leadership. *Turkey Today* has promised its readers full coverage of the development of the communist movement in Turkey using translations from *Worker's Voice*. We wish *Turkey Today* a long and uninterrupted future. Subscription rates are £6 for one year and £3.60 for six months. Write to PO Box 513, London N16 5QB.

**Mick Costello's** much hyped January 5-6 articles on the Communist Party were utterly confused. Certainly they show that the supporters of the *Morning Star* are still playing with the idea of an NCP Mark II some time in the future. Costello writes that "any serious challenge to the line" adopted by the Executive Committee "cannot succeed within what remains of the party." But he cannot make up his mind what to do. While his articles contain passages which point to a split e.g. he wants to win militant trade unionists to "a Communist party" — not the Communist Party: at the same time, reflecting the total confusion of the *Morning Star* grouping, Costello comes up with the following jumbled formulation: "One can be certain that the crisis [inside the Communist Party] will be overcome and the drive to the right in the party (sic). The demands of the political situation will ensure this, coupled with the giant healthy reserves within the Communist Party and among those Communists who have been excluded from its ranks for the moment." So we still do not know what you intend to do comrade Costello. Are you going to split or are you going to fight to change the CPGB?



Mick Costello: confused, confusing and confounded

**January's meeting** of the Party's Executive Committee heard a typically right wing report by 'peace expert' Jon Bloomfield. Typically right wing because the comrade considers it simply "sectarian" to reject the Labour Party's 'defence' policy even though Labour is committed by conference decision, manifesto and history to Nato, the US alliance and defence of capitalist Britain. Moreover, Kinnock's non-nuclear 'defence' policy is based on spending more on 'conventional' weapons. As if this is not bad enough comrade Bloomfield is already preparing the ground for supporting Kinnock's inevitable retreat on Labour's non-nuclear defence of British imperialism. This policy apparently has to be "tempered with flexibility and a willingness to listen to popular anxieties."

## FUEL THE FUTURE



Unfortunately in our change over to a new high tech method of typesetting we have experienced technical difficulties which have prevented us from publishing on schedule. We will do our damndest to quickly get back to our normal two weekly publication date. But we need your help to do so. Our readers seem to have been more concerned with keeping themselves warm during the big freeze than fueling *The Leninist*. In fact those sending donations in 1987 can be counted on the fingers of two hands. This means our £600 monthly fighting fund — short by £134 last month — stands at just £129 as we go to press. This cannot go on. We need your money and frankly we need it urgently. So hurry, hurry, hurry.



TERRORISM was the international buzz-word of 1986. God-fearing reactionaries unleashed righteous sermons (plus a squadron or two of F-111s) at the supposed 'state terrorism' of Libya, Nicaragua, Iran or whoever else got under their feet. 'Arab terrorism' was of course the favourite, with many a *Sun* headline devoted to El-Al jets, pregnant girlfriends and bags of explosives.

In Thatcher's and Kinnock's bi-partisan vocabulary the term applies to anything contrary to the interests of American or British capitalism. Screech the word loud enough and the flagging 'Dunkirk spirit' soars. Even the majority of the so-called revolutionary left in Britain see it as their duty to scold the 'individual terrorists' (sic) of the IRA.

Given that 1987 is likely to see more of the same, it is germane to delve into the nature of 'terrorism'; what it is, what it is not, and how we as Marxists should approach it.

### State terrorism

In '86, Reagan scored a resounding success in the US 'anti-terror drive' against states such as Libya and Syria. Britain too was remarkably successful in jumping on the bandwagon. Now, forgive my cynicism, but I really cannot swallow the crocodile tears of the murderers of millions of Irish, Vietnamese, Kanyans, Malaysians, Nicaraguans, etc, etc, over the odd GI Joe smeared over the walls of a West Berlin night-club. Reagan may be an (ex?) actor, but he would have to be better than Lawrence Olivier to sell that line. No, the real reasons for US/GB global paternalism are quite something else.

Firstly, it is an attempt by Western imperialism to legitimise its military ventures in the Middle East, themselves intended to ensure access to, and domination of, markets in this region. In relation to this, such ventures are designed to issue a firm 'hands off' rebuke to major anti-imperialist states, primarily the Soviet Union, which threaten imperialist plunder.

For the US, a much needed byproduct of these actions is that they enables it to marshall the other imperialist states under US hegemony; a pecking order which was showing signs of disintegration until this opportunity came along.

At home it helps to produce feelings of cross-class 'national solidarity', neutralising working class action, pinning workers to the coat-tails of their own ruling class. You may have a lousy, underpaid job; you may even be unemployed, say our bourgeoisie, but at least you, oh blessed of the Western race, are civilised, and shall remain so while we are here to protect you from Arab savages. This means harsher immigration controls to harass blacks, and easier extradition laws; hence the extraditions recently of IRA POWs from the US and Holland. And so, with a paternal pat on the head for their own befuddled proletariat, the Western bourgeoisie hurl themselves once more into world plunder.

If you are looking for 'state terrorists', forget

Libya, forget Syria: look no further than the US, which has tried everything from air raids against civilians in Libya and genocide in Vietnam to slipping explosive cigars to Fidel Castro. Closer still, Britain, which has piled up mountains of victims, from the zenith of empire to its atrocities in Ireland today. Thrill seekers among you, for a glimpse of a no-nonsense terrorist, take a walk down to the local army recruitment office and eye up the guy behind the desk.

### Genuine article

'State terrorism' aside, for examples of individual terrorists of the most uncontentious kind we can look to Western Europe and the small, petty-bourgeois based, machine-gun totting leftists in such groups as Action Directe in France, Rote Armee Fraction (RAF) in Federal Germany and Brigade Rosse in Italy. And we have had our own home grown variety too, in the shape of the now defunct Angry Brigade. Some ecologists have even taken up the cloak, dagger and bomb in attempts to get even with whaling ships in Iceland.

Action Directe is still going strong, on November 17 1986 assassinating Renault chairman Georges Besse, in response to mass lay-offs at the car plants. Previously they have killed General Rene Audran and made an attempt on the vice president of the national employers organisation, Guy Brana, in April 1986. Later that year, in July, they bombed the offices of the serious crime squad in central Paris, in retaliation for an unarmed man shot dead by police on a Paris street.

Besides these assassinations Action Directe have bombed the offices of Peugeot, Thomson, Pechiney, Interpol, OECD and the IMF as well as Israeli and South African buildings.

This is a high degree of activity for an organisation only formed in 1979, and claiming, according to *The Guardian* of November 18 1986, an estimated two hundred 'adherents', based in and around Paris, Toulouse and Marseilles. The *Financial Times* of the same day claimed that the range of targets is growing. It is a characteristic of this group and others like it, however, that though activity may spiral upwards, the base of support among the masses does not.

One similar group, the Red Army Fraction (the Baader-Meinhof gang) declared a 'political-military front' with Action Directe in January 1985 to attack US and Nato bases on a Europe-wide basis.

The RAF was launched by Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin in 1967. Their first operation was the bombing of a Frankfurt department store in 1968. Then the RAF nucleus disappeared, to return sometime later after a period of training in Palestinian camps, and started up a bombing campaign against US military bases, police stations and the right-wing press. This resulted in the arrest of the three leaders and eighteen other RAF members in 1972.

Even with this handicap the RAF has been able to continue military operations, in 1977

assassinating Attorney General Siegfried Buchack and Hans-Martin Schleyer plus their guards, and on top of this launching a rocket attack against the Federal Justice Department offices. Their strength today remains to be seen from the success, or otherwise, of the joint campaign with Action Directe.

Most famous of all the groups is the Italian Brigade Rosse, and it is this which we shall use for our most comprehensive illustration of this trend. Italian soil has thrown up many such groups through the '70s, but the Brigade Rosse (BR) have proved the most resilient: "During the summer of 1979 ... the Italian police claim to have identified about a hundred such armed groups, only four or five of which were classified as 'stable', the others being considered 'variable'."

"The PCI (Communist Party of Italy — AM) recorded 209 different groups in 1978, although the bloodiest actions still were due to the BR." (*Le Monde*, January 7 1979). Few but the BR are still around.

The BRs alone amongst the other European petty-bourgeois 'urban guerillas' in that they do have some (small) base of support amongst the working class. This is because of distinctive historic conditions in Italy, specifically the history of Italian communism.

During World War II the Party created its own military anti-fascist organisation, Voluntas Rossa. This was maintained as an unofficial police force after the war. Only with the onset of the cold war was it dissolved. It did, however, in its wake, leave behind it a tradition of arms, and this, combined with the traditions of the war time partisans, made a strong imprint on militant workers inside the Party and out.

As the Party moved rightwards some militants within the Party consolidated into a sort of semi-clandestine, sub-factional club, the 'parallel Party', not acknowledged but tolerated by the Party leadership.

This, and the rise of the far right in the '60s, prepared the ground for what was to become the BR. It attempted to fill the gap left by the PCI's inability to respond to attacks on workers.

With the PCI standing impotently by as fascist organisations and the police became a tangible threat to workers, the way was open for an alternative. The Politico Metropolitano di Milano put itself forward as such when in 1968 it set out to 'redefine Marxism-Leninism' by constructing a party based on the armed struggle. The result, after a fusion with a group of ex-PCI members from Reggio Emilia, was the BR.

Unlike similar organisations in Italy, the BR have rejected any kind of mass or united front work. For them the *only* way forward is direct confrontation with the state, organised by and within the 'armed party' (i.e. BR). Nothing else will do; not strikes, not mass demonstrations, nothing but the armed struggle of the BR. They do not even organise for support within the factories.

On one hand this isolates, and makes it extremely hard for them to gauge the masses attitude to their actions. This does not bother the Brigatisti unduly, although it is hard to imagine how they ever envisage organising

workers, unless it be through a mass spontaneous surge into the ranks of the BR — something hardly likely. But on the other hand it makes the BR extremely hard to infiltrate, a reason for the BR's survival where other more open groups have been wiped out by the state.

The logic behind the BR's strategy runs as follows: 'old style' imperialism has been superseded by 'multi-national' imperialism, placing the Italian bourgeoisie in a comprador role to world imperialism. For the BRs the real enemy is not their own bourgeoisie but the US, FDR, IMF, EEC and Nato, not forgetting 'Russian social-imperialism'. As capitalism's crisis deepens, US and Russian social-imperialisms are being drawn towards war. Today, say the BR, because of the technical development of warfare we cannot afford to adhere to Lenin's dictum of turning imperialist war into civil war. The masses need a 'push'. Hence the BR's voluntaristic, semi-national liberation style, strategy, known as 'political autonomy'.

BR began operations in late 1973. Initially tolerated by the PCI, this changed to open hostility after the Legalists (hard line Euro-communists) gained control of the Party around 1975. Monstrously, the Party then adopted a policy of informing on BR supporters to the police.

After the assassination of Christian Democrat president Aldo Moro in 1978 this became frequent. The PCI even called out workers in protest at his killing, and that of the five 'workers in uniform' (police) during his kidnapping. The Party refused to bring workers out on a similar protest demonstration a week later after the murder of a member of the militant *Autonomia* organisation by police. So, for the PCI, killing militant workers was okay, but bourgeois politicians was out.

The BR's response was to attack PCI public figures; first of all the assassination of a Party trade union functionary, Rozza. This lost them any sympathy they had in the 'parallel Party', as the whole of the PCI turned defensively inward. Outside the Party revolutionary workers looked on confusedly as Brigatista shot communist and communist shopped Brigatista.

But today, even after the treachery of the 'great historic compromise', the PCI retains its mass base; for all their revolutionism the BRs have not been able to even dent it. The dream of the mass armed party remains just that — a dream.

### "One man's freedom fighter..."

For liberal humanitarians and pseudo-lefts everywhere, one man's freedom fighter becomes *their* terrorist if there is any danger of said liberal or 'left' getting any flack for supporting said terrorist.

Witness the miners' Great Strike. The Socialist Workers Party, most notable among many, was virulent in its attacks on the miners' hit squads, and especially the incident concerning two miners, one concrete post and one deceased taxi driver. These were, screeched the SWP, examples of individual terrorism, and could not therefore be supported. Ditto the hit squads in the News International print strike now. They are condemned as acts of individual terrorism. What nonsense.

The hit squads were not acts in isolation from the rest of the class, but expressed in an elevated form the movement of a section of the class. They do not take place out in the void, as do the actions of the BR or RAF, but in a concrete struggle. It should not be the job of revolutionaries to dismiss such actions of spontaneous organisation, but to generalise, coordinate and lead them.

Things go from bad to worse when it comes to dealing with national liberation struggles, for our liberal and radical left. One RW Johnson in the *New Statesman* of November 28 1986 wobbles all over the place in trying to fumble towards an acceptable position. Such organisations as the ANC and Zanu PF are alright because they "enjoy at least latent mass support", BR, RAF and so on are a definite no-no because: "They always lose because they lack any support." Fair enough. Now comes the crunch: "They really hard cases are the marginal ones, like the IRA, ETA, the Kurds, or the plethora of Middle Eastern groups which enjoy some of the conditions necessary to success (Johnson's conditions, that is — AM); they have some support, but not enough — and the oppressor has nowhere else to go. The result is that there is no result and a ghastly war of attrition winds on forever."

So our friend RW Johnson remains where he is, securely on the fence, surveying the 'ghastly' mess before him. But what in hell does he mean? What is 'enough' support? Has he done a head count, or does it work by cloudbometer? And where can the oppressor go back to in South Africa? Holland maybe? Certainly there is a

# TERRORISM AND THE STATE





place for the imperialist oppressors in Ireland to go. Back to Britain, taking their Saracens, water cannon and CS gas with them.

Fred Halliday's piece in January's *Marxism Today* displays no such ambiguities. Halliday is a reactionary and, it would seem, proud of it. His unpleasant schpeel (transcribed from *Left Unlimited*) opens by describing violence as "something extremely horrible and unpleasant".

He then moves from (very) bad to worse. He too thinks that the ANC are acceptable. Well and good. But then the 'Irish problem' rears its ugly, balaclava covered head: "Ulster (sic) exhibits the same (terrorist) problem (sic). In situations like these we have communities bombing each other." Fallacy number one. (Numbers one and two, if you count the chauvinist misnomer 'Ulster') It is not a case of "communities bombing each other". The UDA, UVF, UFF etc, indiscriminately attack Catholics. No one would doubt this, not even Andy Tryie. The IRA do not. Their military campaign is directed at the security forces, their quislings and the British state. They have stated this many times and have proved it in practice. Halliday is either a bloody liar or a bloody fool.

He goes on to say that he does not "think it is legitimate to use violence in Northern Ireland" because "non-violent political expression is possible and those using violence represent a minority — around 15% of the population in the province concerned." Oh yes indeed, Fred, non-violent political expression is possible — providing, that is, you don't mind having your door kicked in and house wrecked in the frequent house searches in nationalist areas; providing you can shrug off the terror of the loyalist para-militaries, and the persecution of the sectarian RUC; providing you can still raise a laugh at years of internment, non-jury Diplock courts, strip-searching, shoot to kill and SAS assassination, not to mention all the other many delights bestowed on the nationalist people by Britain's occupation of the Six-Counties. If you do mind, you fight.

Halliday has three criteria for the 'respectable' freedom fighter to abide by: "The use of

violence in a situation is justified if three conditions are met: (1) there is major oppression, and no possibility of achieving change politically; (2) you represent a majority of the people as far as you can see; and (3) you limit the kinds of violence that you use." Fred 'Lord God Almighty' Halliday's three commandments are ridiculous. What is 'major' oppression? Does it have its own Richter scale or cloudbuster equivalent? Does 'oppression' come in decibels, or kilogrammes, that it can be so easily measured? There is no change whatsoever possible in the Six-Counties 'politically' (what Halliday means is 'through reform'). The Civil Rights Association, Stormont, the 'Ulster' Assembly, the 'Peace People' and the SDLP have proved this admirably.

Yet Fred is not convinced. And this rubbish about representing "a majority of the people as far as you can see": did the Bolsheviks represent a mathematical majority of the people in October 1917; did Connolly and Pearse in 1916? No, of course they didn't. Neither did Castro and Guevara when they were sitting atop the Sierra Maestra in the late '50s. The key question is, do you have a strategy that takes forward the struggle of the oppressed masses. Sinn Fein have, as much as any national liberation movement have. Halliday hides behind the British imposed province of 'Ulster'.

Britain changed the game in 1921 through partition. Halliday goes chasing merrily after the moving goal posts. The republican movement cannot afford such flights of fancy. They are fighting for Irish national liberation — all Thirty-two Counties, not just one corner. The question is not what electoral support does Sinn Fein have now, which is how Halliday poses it, but the revolutionary direction in which the republican movement's strategy is taking Ireland as a whole.

Halliday's last criterion is so much a joke it is hardly worth countering. Freedom fighters should 'limit' the kinds of violence they use. Or else what? Will Fred withdraw his much valued support? But again this is cant. Halliday supports the ANC, yet their armed wing,

Umkhonto we Sizwe, have bombed shopping centres and killed civilians. Freedom fighters have used and will continue to use just as much violence as they think necessary to win. And Halliday can go hang.

It may seem pointless to devote so much space to one petty-bourgeois radical. But Halliday's views, in one guise or another are widespread throughout the communist and the workers movement. Halliday is just a timely, if unsuitable, whipping boy.

It is not the use of violence, 'necessary' or otherwise, which is the Marxist criterion for labelling some armed organisations as 'individual terrorists' (such as the BR) or freedom fighter. It is whether their strategy relates to the concrete situation in any meaningful way, or whether it consigns them to isolation and hostility from the masses. We would argue that the election of Sinn Fein councillors and MPs is just one example that places the IRA securely in the former category.

Franco Ferracuti, 'terrorist expert', defined it thus: "You're only a terrorist if you lose." Action Directe, RB, RAF are individual terrorists because their self-imposed isolation means they can never win. The killing of French industrialist by Action Directe is, in the last analysis, of no more consequence than if a bus had hit him.

### Terrorism and Communism

The BRs 'redefinition of Marxism-Leninism' was nothing new, nor, needless to say, Marxist-Leninist. Their strategy is as old, if not older, than Marxism, and the two have never converged.

Individual terrorism was a favourite of nineteenth century anarchists. Nechaev, a protégé of Bakunin's, was a past master. On joining the 'World Revolutionary Alliance' he first killed a rather harmless student, who was, it so happens, also an anarchist. Blow up a few things, kill a few people, and then get caught. But nothing changes. Bakunin created many such organisations, with many lesser Nechaevs,

all of which were of the most ephemeral kind.

They had many similarities to the structure of the BR. They had no impact, except to fuel bourgeois scares and to provide material for fiction writers of the time after a good dramatic angle. There is little more one can say.

Tsarist Russia threw up many examples of the individual terrorist. One such was the petty bourgeois-revolutionary Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) organisation. They tried to organise and lead the peasantry through the example of terror. They got as far as assassinating Tsar Alexander II, but organised precious few peasants.

They did, however, largely commit suicide through their reckless acts, losing many brave revolutionaries, one being Lenin's brother. Their real significance lies in that Russian Marxism developed in opposition to this trend. The Marxists, arguing the vanguard role of the proletariat against that of the peasantry, and the importance of mass work, proved sturdier than the grand gestures of the Narodniks.

They, however, were replaced in early, pre-revolutionary twentieth-century Russia by the petty-bourgeois, peasant orientated Socialist Revolutionaries. They also relied heavily on individual terrorism as a means to spur the masses into action. They, like the BR claimed to be Marxists of sorts, but rejected the 'dead weight' of 'Marxist dogma'. In its place they put their terroristic 'Combat Organisation'. With great bravery they hurled themselves at the Tsarist monolith.

For Lenin and the Bolsheviks this was way off the mark:

"We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed and as this participation in struggle, which really rouses ever newer and untapped sections of the proletariat to greater political consciousness, to a broad revolutionary struggle [...] we are convinced that to sacrifice one revolutionary, even in exchange for ten scoundrels, means only disorganising our own ranks, which are thin as it is." (Lenin, *CW*, Vol.8, p171).

How many BR or RAF members are today in prison for the sake of a few scoundrels?

For Lenin the SRs did not understand the central importance of the proletariat and were merely trying to circumvent the arduous task of building a mass revolutionary movement through what were essentially acts of individual bravado: "The Economists and the terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity; the Economists bow to the spontaneity of 'the labour movement pure and simple', whilst the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals, who lack the ability or the opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working class movement into an integral whole." (*CW*, Vol.5, p.418).

Lenin did not pacifistically reject all terror. It was a weapon to be used in connection with the mass movement under certain circumstances. Those who elevated it to a point of principle, Lenin ruthlessly exposed.

Today, the rise of fresh Narodniks, new SRs, can only be put down to the degeneration of the communist movement. Now the revolutionary petty-bourgeois take up arms in Frankfurt, Milan and Paris because of the failure of the communist parties to give a revolutionary lead. And having spawned these *enfant terrible*, the opportunists elevate them in to being the problem, not capitalism.

The PCI hands them to the police. The French Communist Party refuses to defend them against the bourgeois state. After Besse's assassination the Party paper, *L'Humanité*, wrote of Action Directe and speculation around the action, "It is better to leave the police the time to do their work without taking too much notice of anonymous claims of responsibility, [even if] they should be signed by 'AD' (November 29 1986). This is disgraceful. The SRs were always opponents of Lenin, but he recognised them as revolutionaries. He defended them against the Tsarist government.

Perhaps we should expect no more from the opportunist-led communist parties in Western Europe. But their cowardice is a double edged sword, arming the bourgeoisie with the legislation to attack all sections of the democratic and workers movement. The state will sooner or later use the methods designed to eradicate the BR or RAF against communists. It is therefore criminal that communists should lend a hand to the state in its fight against 'terrorism'. We should always remember that the capitalist state is our main enemy. Our objection to the terrorist groups is a million miles from the reactionary platitudes of Fred Halliday. Our objection is that they are simply ineffective.

Alan Merrick





Of late there has been much talk in the communist press about the need for a national unemployed workers' movement. This is a demand we fully support. But while others have merely tried to promote the sterile perspective of linking the TUC backed 'tea and ping-pong' unemployed workers' centres we initiated the Unemployed Workers Charter and put words into action. The national organiser of the UWC informs us that by the end of 1986 the national membership of the UWC topped 200. With only two months of activity under its belt this is a splendid achievement.

Peter Geddes, editor of the New Worker, the soporific paper of the New Communist Party, recently returned from pilgrimage to the Soviet Union. Full of religious enthusiasm and with "then I was off to" reporting, he detailed his discussions with Soviet communists. Apart from collective farm chairmen, nuclear scientists and the Georgian Minister of Wood Industries, among those he met were senior members of the section of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism dealing with the history of the world communist movement. Not only were these comrades somewhat perplexed by comrade Pete Carter's recent pamphlet, Geddes tells us, but the "November issue of Marxism Today ... caused raised eyebrows". Why? Could it have been its lauding of Bob Geldof, or the advocacy of an incomes policy? No, titter, titter. What caused the "raised eyebrows" was the "advertisements for condoms for male homosexuals". Does Straight Leftist Nick Wright get his Moscow line via the New Worker?

What has happened to the Trotskyite Spartacist League? There are at present two versions of its Workers Hammer Special Supplement circulating. Is there a split? Are we witnessing a pigmy rerun of the WRP explosion which saw two rival versions of News Line and two versions of Young Socialist claiming to be the real McCoy? No, it seems not. The only difference between the two editions is the front page. Was there a change in political line then? Well, yes, it was decided not to advertise the Spartacist League as a scab organisation. Workers Hammer sellers met with such fierce denunciations from printers and other militant workers that it was decided to pulp the original run and print a second version. The only difference was one photograph. The original carried a photo credited to the scab paper The Times.

## TEACHERS

### Morning Star: in the red?



Mary Rosser: signing away readers money

THE MORNING STAR'S Management Committee have clearly decided to pursue a policy of pretending nothing has happened to its so-called 'survival plan'. The paper still carries forms under a 'Take a share in our new press' banner. Unlike the Morning Star, The Leninist has given full details of the total collapse of the previously much vaunted 'survival plan'. At the heart of the 'survival plan' lay the £1½ million Goss Urbanite Mark II obtained in a lease/buy deal with the US corporation Rockwell International signed on Friday 13 January 1984. One did not however need to be superstitious to predict Chater's bureaucratic 'survival plan' could not save the paper.

The new press was supposed to "print the Morning Star out of trouble." As our readers will know the press cost £100,000 to install and the lease agreement commits the Morning Star to heavy monthly repayments until 1992. The lease-back money plus interest amounts to around £12,000 a month. Presumably because these payments were not made Rockwell has made moves to repossess. Chater dreamed of "more than a £1 million" in commercial business, hardly any was obtained. No doubt this and the prospect of repossession is why the Morning Star sacked its 36 printers and why it is now printed at East End Offset the SWP's print works. After a three day lapse the editor announced this change as a great step forward. Why? Because the paper has got its red banner back! This is treating the readers as if they were five years old. Nothing must be done which could ruffle the loyal readership, make them ask questions about where their hard earned money has gone. Therefore in true opportunist fashion the loyal readership are treated to a series of half truths, evasions and downright deceptions.

A classical and sickening example of this was seen in the December 9 appeal for more share capital. The headline ran "Star share drive target in sight". Yet the £250,000 target stands at a mere £55,455. Moreover Bob Newlands, shares campaign organiser, totally avoided the collapse of the 'survival plan' by describing the terminal crisis at the Morning Star as "difficulties". Naturally he made no reference to the sacking of 36 printers only six days previously, let alone the fact that the famed "new press", the Goss Urbanite Mark II, which was going to "print the paper out of trouble" has become a £1½ million albatross. Of course if he did he might have found it impossible to summon up the nerve to call for yet more money from the Morning Star's readers.

This is an edited version of the statement we issued to teachers taking part in the unofficial strike which shut 200 schools in London on January 13.

TODAY'S strike action is the best answer to Baker's attempt to impose a settlement as well as the NUT Executive's Acas sellout. It exposes the myth that union members are not prepared to fight and shows that it is our leaders who have lost the nerve to fight.

The Acas deal which the Executive has made their own represents a total sellout. By supporting it the leadership and the Labour local authority employers hope to smooth Kinnock's path to No 10. They hope we will be willing to sacrifice our working conditions and pay for his political ambitions. Since 1974 teachers' real wages have constantly fallen: we say fight for what teachers need not what the employers and the government can afford.

In the run up for today's strike Hamilton House (the NUT's HQ) has mounted a campaign to intimidate London members. The suspension of the Inner London Teachers Association Council is a desperate move to cripple resistance to the Acas sellout. The leadership tried to break today's strike by writing to all London schools telling us that the strike was unofficial (!) and by enlisting the employers' help (!!).

Despite this Thursday night's meeting, with 400 in attendance, voted almost unanimously to strike. This shows the depth of feeling in London against the Acas sellout. The leadership is running scared, it fears that other areas will follow the London example.

What we have seen during the past week is the emergence of a rank and file alternative to general secretary, Fred Jarvis's 'strategy' of 'fighting' Baker. As he made clear in his letter, the Executive imagine they can defeat Baker with ads in The Guardian, help from the fumbling TUC and the ability of the geriatrics in the House of Lords to amend Baker's bill out of all recognition.

Of course, that the strike call was so eagerly answered was a surprise for the 'ultra-left's' of the Socialist Teachers Alliance (supporters of Socialist Action) who run ILTA. The call for strike action was felt by many of the ILTA officers to be a way to rescue their 'left' credentials. Frankly they believed that London members would not respond and it could 'reluctantly' be called off.

Because of this ILTA only sent schools a tatty leaflet and over Christmas there was no attempt to mobilise activists or produce additional material. It was only the sudden intervention of the union leadership against the strike which forced them to stick to their 'left' posture.

London members should therefore have no illusions in the determination of the STA/SWP leaders to fight. Remember even on the eve of the strike ILTA general secretary, Mike Loosly, spoke in favour of calling the strike off. The weakness of the SWP and STA, which dominates the ILTA Council, shows that teachers need a genuine militant leadership based on a reformed Communist Party.

Today's strike is a declaration to all our leaders that the rank and file wants to and will fight. It must be the beginning of a campaign to make both the Acas deal and Baker's proposals unworkable. To ensure this London must not be allowed to become isolated. It must become a focal point for all the areas which opposed the Acas deal.

Even at this eleventh hour rank and file teachers can still turn the tide against Acas and Baker and the sellout bureaucrats. Who does the

## No to Baker! No to Acas!



London teachers defy the NUT's sellout and Bakers threats.

union belong to? A few middle aged head teachers and over-paid full time functionaries or class room teachers? The more we take matters into our own hands, the bigger unofficial action is, the less power our misleaders have to sell us out, the easier it becomes to convince the majority that we can win.

We say build rank and file cross union school committees. Fight to reinstate the 86 suspended by the leadership. The NUT leadership never used its disciplinary powers against scabs when it was organising its low key actions. Now it is witch hunting those whose only 'crime' is

responding to rank and file calls to defend our pay, conditions and rights.

Jarvis and his deputy, McAvoy, are more interested in getting Kinnock into No 10 than looking after teachers' interests. If Jarvis and McAvoy will not fight they must not be allowed to suspend those who say they want to. NUT divisions, associations and school groups should immediately send resolutions demanding the reinstatement of those suspended. A petition is being circulated. It can be obtained from: NUT petition, 73 Devenay Road, London E15 4AZ.

## A CLASS FIGHTER



Jack Collins: intransigent

THE WORKING class movement has lost an outstanding leader in Jack Collins. He died on January 7, after having fought leukaemia for many years, aged 57.

Jack was one of the very few trade union leaders the rank and file were right to trust. He was what a communist trade union leader should be — an intransigent class fighter. He played a memorable role in the 1972 and 1974 miners' strikes. In 1980 he was elected general secretary of the Kent Area NUM. In the 1984-5 miners' Great Strike, although already seriously ill, he pushed himself mercilessly. He encouraged the use of the most militant tactics, argued against all attempts at unprincipled retreat and demanded the organisation of generalised strike action to secure victory.

We did not agree with all Jack's political positions, for instance his decision to lapse his membership of the Party. Yet we developed a close working relationship with Jack during the course of the strike which continued till his death.

In thinking of Jack as a friend we were not alone. Tendencies as diverse as the Morning Star, Militant and News Line have claimed him as a supporter. True, Jack was determinedly against sectarianism. But there can be no question that he was also a communist who believed the leadership in the Soviet Union was correct.

While this has produced sycophancy in others Jack was never afraid to criticise when he thought necessary. He attacked the importation of Polish coal in 1984-5 and those 'pro-Soviet' elements who made excuses for this scabbing.

Jack Collins will be missed by all those struggling for working class rights, socialism and communism. His courage and determination was an example to all. We send our condolences to his wife, Pat, his family and to the militant Kent miners.



# Kautskyite cant



Communist Campaign Review No.2, Winter 1986/7, pp36, £1.00.

THE CRISIS of the CPGB is not a crisis of Eurocommunism, but of all forms of opportunism. Whilst the Party pursued its reformist BRS programme, and more recently the Alternative Economic Strategy, subordinating mass working class struggle and the "advance to socialism" to parliamentary struggle and to the electoral victory of the Labour Party, generations of revolutionary youth were lost to revolutionary politics, or turned away from the communist movement to Trotskyism. Those centrists in the Party who retain some allegiance to Leninist ideas should have learned by now that last year's opportunism is not the weapon to combat this year's opportunism.

The CCG has set itself the task of winning as many comrades as possible to switch allegiance from the Party executive to the CCG alternative leadership, not on the basis of open ideological struggle for Leninist principles — the only line capable of defeating liquidationism — but of loyally upholding the fixed and fossilised BRS/AES reformist strategy. It is no use kidding oneself that this is a mere "tactic" to regain control of the Party, and that a Leninist programme will be thrashed out afterwards. A struggle for a reformist programme will certainly lead to a reformist organisation, if it leads to anything. It is a matter of speculation whether the divisions in the dominant Eurocommunist camp will develop faster than those in the *Morning Star*/CCG opposition, but either way the CCG cannot produce a Leninist party.

Photis Lysandrou has declared himself for a formal split around the time of the November 1987 40th congress, because the CCG activists cannot be held together in "no-mans-land" indefinitely. Mike Hicks has warned that the socialist countries, which purchase some 15,000 daily copies of the *Morning Star*, so permitting its continued existence, have advised against a split. Mary Rosser has indicated that a breakaway NCP Mark II would not gain the blessing of the *Star*, at least for the time being. Tony Chater can be expected to defend "his" paper from the interference of another "outside body", and Ken Gill appears quite happy to keep the *Star* as left cheerleader for the trade union bureaucracy, a role which hardly requires the encumbrance of a Communist Party.

So far, the mass of PPPS shareholders, while voting against Eurocommunism, have not given any tangible support to the CCG leadership. A fact which is causing serious concern to those CCGers who still believe a Communist Party is necessary, but which leaves comrade Chater in secure control of "his" paper, and well able to refuse to submit to the discipline a new party would require.

For *The Leninist* the focus of the struggle for a Leninist revolutionary Communist Party is the CPGB itself — despite its present liquidationist

leadership — because of its organic link with the Bolsheviks and Leninism through its foundation as part of Lenin's Third International (Comintern), its present-day place as part of the world communist movement, and because it is still the storehouse of experience of the struggles of the British working class. Those who see the necessity of revolutionary class struggle must not allow the *Morning Star* or the CCG to lead them by the nose away from the struggle to reforge our CPGB, only to be wasted in left reformist oblivion.

Those who placed their faith in Chater's *Star* to fight for a Leninist party must realise by now that the famous "survival plan" has failed to materialise, and the *Star*'s days are numbered. Without the backing of a disciplined active revolutionary party, a communist daily paper cannot be sustained. What we can reasonably expect now is the continued steady decline of reserves, leading to death, which could happen at any time.

The *Communist Campaign Review* (Winter 1986/7), published in December, is more like a bumper selection of *Morning Star* features than a theoretical journal. All the articles are by *Star* journalists or regular contributors — John Haylett, Mike Naughton, Jeff Sawtell, John Hoffman, David Whitfield, Mick Costello and Isolda McNeill — except for two reprints: on "Nicaragua — Sandino's Legacy" by the late Jose Benito Escobar, and on "The Present System of World Socialism" by A. Butenko and L. Kononenko of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Of the CCG articles, only John Hoffman's piece on the state bears any resemblance to a Marxist theoretical article, and all discussion concerning the need for a Communist Party, the crisis in the CPGB and its history, the struggle by the CCG leaders to regain control of the Party and how this is to be done — is entirely missing from the journal. Instead of polemicising systematically against each revisionist tendency within (and not only within) the Party, as Lenin would have done, all we have is the occasional derogatory side-swipe at Eurocommunism.

The casual left Labourite picking up the CCR for the first time would have the devil's own job getting orientated to the *Review*, since nowhere is the CCG, its aims and its relation to the CPGB explained. Only once is the need for a Communist Party upheld — by comrade Ann Field, in the round table discussion on the print dispute: "The *Morning Star* can't be a substitute for organised action, for a disciplined communist party." Good for you, comrade!

The concept of revolution, mentioned only to be sniped at by Ron Bellamy and Mary Davis in the first (autumn 1986) issue of the *CC Review* — see *The Leninist* No 42 — is entirely absent from this issue, even in John Hoffman's four page theoretical article on "Getting Rid of the State". In similar fashion, however, comrade Hoffman mentions the dictatorship of the proletariat — the key concept in the Marxist theory of the state — only once, and only for the purpose of knocking it, to clear the way for his own more sophisticated meanderings. He writes against "magical incantations about the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat" (as worthy as these phrases are in the right context)... But this is a theoretical article in a communist theoretical journal, and the writer's chosen subject is the state. This is precisely the right context to elaborate, clarify and reinforce such crucial scientific concepts, not to dismiss them as "magical incantations" nor to damn them with faint

praise as "worthy phrases".

Not surprisingly, with this level of contempt for the scientific concepts of Marxism-Leninism, Hoffman soon gets into a muddle. Instead of starting with Lenin's definition of the state as "an organ or class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another..." (*State and Revolution*: Lenin's emphasis), Hoffman says: "The state comes about because the community divides." As examples of "precisely the kind of social division which brings the state into being and keeps it in business" he offers the following: white supremacists versus blacks in South Africa, loyalists versus republicans in "Northern Ireland", and Zionist settlers versus Palestinians on the West Bank. "As long as communities are radically divided into haves and have nots the state will exist..." The amazing implication is that South African whites, loyalists and Jewish settlers are the respective ruling classes!

Hoffman upholds the necessity of

a working class (transitional) state — "there is no way in which one state can be overthrown without putting another in its place" — but in place of revolution to overthrow (your word, John) and smash (Lenin's word) the British capitalist-imperialist state, John sets the task of exposing the hypocrisy of the state in claiming to represent the interests of the whole of society, and of persuading society that the working class represents its interests. This might usefully be named the theory of revolutionary projection: "The whole point about classes in struggle is that each seeks to project its interests on a social wide basis (employing, it should be noted, a coercion which commands consent). The one that does this most successfully controls the state."

By concealing the coercive aspect of the state — its dominant aspect — behind its ideological aspect, Hoffman by-passes revolution, leaving the door open to the reformist parliamentary British

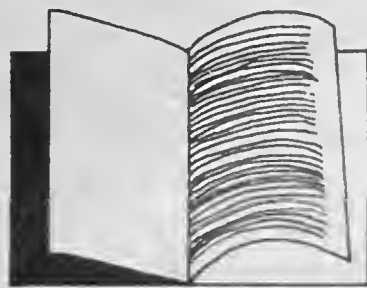
*Road to Socialism*. All in all, his ideas fit perfectly what Lenin described in *State and Revolution* as "the 'Kautskyite' distortion of Marxism..." which glosses over the fact that "... the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class..." (Lenin's emphasis).

The CCG claims to defend "the principles of Marxism-Leninism" but its theoretical journal either neglects or mocks them. In the first issue, the editors promised to "make known new developments in Marxist analysis in every sphere", but instead we get 70 years old Kautskyite revisionism.

Since revolution is not the CCG's aim, it does not need to build a revolutionary party. We shall therefore look forward with interest to the promised feature in the next issue, on "The Role of the Vanguard Party."

Ian Farrell

## Jose Julian Martí Cuban patriot



Peter Turton, *José Martí: Architect of Cuba's Freedom*, Zed Press 1986, pp 157, £6.95.

JOSE Julián Martí was born in January 1853 in the Spanish colony of Cuba. He rapidly became involved in the struggle for liberation, and his brilliance as a writer and organiser was instrumental in the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, of which he was leader ("Delegate") in the insurrection it led against Spanish rule.

Martí was killed by Spanish troops in May 1895, the fifth month of the war. In 1898 the US intervened in the conflict, as Martí had increasingly feared, and dominated the island through a corrupt puppet government for the next sixty-one years.

Between 1962 and 1965 the socialist government of Cuba published the twenty-five volumes of Martí's writings. In this book Peter Turton analyses these in a clear and fascinating introduction to Martí and his environment.

The political developments during Martí's life and his experiences travelling in Latin America, the United States and Europe led to a continual development of his ideas.

An appendix explains Krausism which formed the basis of Martí's ideology. It is a dualist philosophy, believing in two essences, nature and spirit, which have to be brought into harmony. The concept of harmony, and progress as the gradual evolution of discordant elements into a harmonious system, is key to Krausism, and colours much of Martí's thought. He picked up these idealist concepts while at university in Madrid at the age of 18, after being exiled from Cuba.

Those who think Marxism is a dogma restricting people to faith in an unchanging set of beliefs, like a religion, should read this book to see how a revolutionary is hampered by

not having the tools of Marxist analysis available. They would then understand how the science of dialectical materialism is indispensable for understanding the development of history.

"Martí's revolutionary zeal forced him into a political praxis which... at times outstripped the basic ideological premises that had formed his view of the world." (p108). The book contains numerous examples of Martí's mistaken analysis, disillusionment, and even backwardness, which sprung from his idealist conception of the world.

A simple example is his attitude to women. His dualistic belief in innate masculinity and femininity made him dislike emancipated women and prefer that they be "warm soft and selfless".

Martí was a revolutionary democrat. His Krausist ideal of an independent Cuba in which "Cubans of all social classes and colours could live in harmony" (p14), reinforced by his bitter experiences of the 1876 military coup in Mexico and arbitrary and despotic rule in Guatemala and Venezuela made him insist that the war to liberate Cuba be led not by corrupt and power-seeking generals, but by a revolutionary Party which would organise itself democratically and introduce democracy into Cuba.

Yet Turton describes Martí's ambivalent feelings about war, violence and revolution; "he always disliked social revolution, seeing it as the last resort with respect to the internal problems of a nation" (p121). But he was convinced of "the need to go to war to achieve Cuban freedom." (p14).

Moreover he never actually overcame his hostility to class struggle. Turton says that according to Martí "Indignation ... led in some

to fanaticism, in others to self-sacrifice, according to the amount of spirituality possessed". Martí's liberalism was most glaringly demonstrated by his behaviour during the Haymarket affair in 1886, which is vividly described in the third chapter.

When seven anarchists were sentenced to death following a violent demonstration in which seven policemen were killed by a bomb, Martí was at first completely on the side of the US state, and vilified the anarchists.

Nonetheless Turton describes now:

"Gradually Martí came over more and more to the side of the working classes, in the measure that he became increasingly aware of their problems and the conspiracy of the powerful against them." (p136).

However, although he emphasises throughout how Martí's theoretical work never matched his practical political genius — "probably, in part, because he was always involved in the concrete struggle and had little time to think his ideas through" (p55) — Turton doesn't sufficiently explain how harmful it is to the cause of the workers when someone as influential as Martí takes sides against them at the critical moment. He instead uses the Haymarket incident to illustrate how practical experience led Martí to reverse his former admiration for the US. Turton quite rightly takes the approach that when examining the actions and motives of a historical figure, the scientific method is not to defend or to criticise the person but to explain their actions in the historical context. But alongside this there should be uncompromising exposure of the dangers inherent in their errors.

Mary Goodwin

	6 months	1 year
Britain & Ireland	£5 <input type="checkbox"/>	£10 <input type="checkbox"/>
Europe	£8 <input type="checkbox"/>	£16 <input type="checkbox"/>
Rest of World	£10 <input type="checkbox"/>	£20 <input type="checkbox"/>

For more detailed rates see page two

I enclose a cheque/PO for £.... made out to November Publications

Please start my subscription with issue no....

I enclose a donation for £.... made out to November Publications

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: Subscriptions, BCM Box 928, London WC1N 3XX

SUBSCRIBE



BLOODY SUNDAY is one of the many incidents in Irish history that many in Britain, including much of the workers movement, would rather forget. On January 30 1972 twenty thousand people turned out for a march called by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in Derry. The First Battalion of the Parachute Regiment was deployed to prevent the march leaving the Bogside. Then the British soldiers, unprovoked, opened fire on the unarmed demonstration killing thirteen civilians there and then, with another dying from his wounds later in hospital.

The British government attempted to cover itself for this monstrous crime by claiming that the troops had been fired on by IRA Volunteers. This was a transparent lie as both Official and Provisional IRA had steered clear of the demonstration at the request of the NICRA organisers. Needless to say the only 'witnesses' to this provocative gunfire wore the berets of the Para regiment.

The reaction of workers in Ireland and Britain was one of shock and anger. Many tens of thousands attended the funerals in Derry, with Britain's actions causing many in the Six Counties, especially youth, to lose any remaining faith in the reformability of the statelet and take up the cause of revolutionary republicanism. In Dublin crowds marched on the British embassy and burnt it down. In London tens of thousands of people reacted violently against police provocations, when the Bloody Sunday demonstration was refused entry to Downing Street with thirteen coffins.

So even in Britain the reaction fell outside the boundaries of everyday protest politics that are so familiar.

Today, however, though the annual Bloody Sunday demonstration is the largest mobilisation around Ireland in Britain, demonstrators are counted in thousands rather than tens of thousands. Surely if the anger felt at the time had been developed and properly channelled we should now be counting them, as in Marx's day, in hundreds of thousands.

But it is almost as if the march's organisers do not want crowds cluttering up the streets. Last year's march in London was not given proper publicity by posters, advertising or leaflets — through the official channels at least. The official organising committee this year definitely has the emphasis on 'official': it comprises Labour Party and Labour Party orientated bodies such as the Troops Out Movement, Women and Ireland and the Labour Committee on Ireland. More militant organisations such as the Revolutionary Communist Party/Irish Freedom Movement and the Revolutionary Communist Group/Irish Solidarity Movement have been excluded. Such action is (if the organisers were interested in effective solidarity) absolutely ludicrous when you consider that the IFM mobilised by far the largest contingent last year. A funny way indeed of building an anti-imperialist movement.

The blame for the failure to develop a mass movement around Ireland lies partially at the feet of those Labourite forces which today head the 'solidarity' (sic) movement. The crisis of solidarity in Britain is inseparable from the political crisis of those groups which lead it. In the early seventies the movement was dominated by the International Socialists/SWP and the International Marxist League (today's

Socialist League). As the going got rough in the Irish war, the SWP's stand — to say the least — became equivocal. When the Official IRA retaliated to the murders on Bloody Sunday by bombing the Para's Aldershot barracks, *Socialist Worker* denounced the Officials for "having done nothing by this act to weaken the Tory government... A policy of individual terrorism (sic) has nothing in common with the socialist aim of building a mass working class movement." (February 26 1972).

In the face of anti-Irish chauvinism among British workers, the SWP wavered and then broke from the solidarity movement in a cynical search for more fertile pastures for recruitment such as Rank and File-ism and the Anti-Nazi League. Now the SWP, claiming a membership of over four thousand, seems to strain itself in sending a mere handful of its members (and never a banner) to pounce a few paper sales from the demonstration.

Of the major left groups, this leaves the IMG. Now, as the Socialist League, and within the LCI and TOM, they have not abandoned Irish solidarity work. They have merely sterilized it. They too wavered in the face of chauvinism. In response to the bourgeois onslaught, the IMG paper *Red Weekly* of December 5 1974 declared "the IMG has never and does not now support the IRA, by material, financial or by any other such means... nor do we support them politically." The IMG fell victim to an inability to confront British chauvinism, as did the SWP. But instead of switching to easier campaigns which did not present such problems, after the style of the SWP, the IMG went through the motions of Irish solidarity and immersed themselves in Labourite respectability.

The IMG as the Socialist League have looked for a short and easy route to anti-imperialism through the Labour Party, which has again and again proved itself irrevocably wedded to imperialism. The Labour left is different in rhetoric but, in the last analysis, not in action. Take that darling of the LCI, Ken Livingstone, for instance. Ken has caused many a sharp intake of breath in establishment circles with his invitations to Sinn Fein leaders to visit Britain. All well and good. But for Livingstone this does not rest in the realms of lofty principle. No way.

He believes that he can tap into a current of public, and even bourgeois, opinion that wants withdrawal from Ireland; a current that will carry him into Number Ten. For those that have eyes to see, this is quite apparent: "With every passing year, the desire to 'get out and forget about it' grows — not just in terms of the bulk of the population, but in important sections of the establishment. It is interesting that under the proprietorship of Sir Robert Maxwell, the *Daily Mirror's* advocacy of British withdrawal from Ireland had hardened rather than softened. There are many signs which never come to the surface but that can be sensed in conversation with MPs, industrialists and business people, of a growing desire just to be 'shot of the problem' as they see it." (Livingstone, writing in *Ireland after Britain*, p.21)

Unfortunately for Ken, his sort of withdrawal cannot lead to Irish freedom. Britain cannot liberate Ireland any more than it can stop being imperialist. It would take a revolution in Ireland to do the one and a revolution in Britain for the other.

Ken's affairs are his own business. That those at the forefront of Irish



# IRELAND THE CAUSE OF LABOUR?

solidarity tie themselves to him and his type is the business of all Irish and British anti-imperialists, as it emasculates any solidarity work. The tiny numbers mobilised through the extensive medium of the Labour Party is proof of this.

However, the real blame lies elsewhere, with our Communist Party of Great Britain. All factions of the Party, except those around *The Leninist*, renege on their duty to provide solidarity with Irish freedom fighters. When troops were sent into Derry in August 1969, our Party immediately dropped its programmatic position for immediate Irish self determination, (although it had not acted on it for some considerable time), called for troops back to barracks and adopted the following position after Bloody Sunday:

"The Political Committee of the Communist Party in an immediate statement demanded that all para-troop units be immediately flown back to England and the rest of the troops in Northern Ireland be taken off the streets and confined to barracks preparatory to their complete withdrawal." (Gordon McLennan, *Britain and the Irish Crisis*, CPGB pamphlet)

The Party leadership inserted a stage — no longer troops out now, but troops out when and how it suited British imperialism. This is because the Party saw imperialism as a policy which could be changed as easily as a change in government. The repressive organs of the state were subordinated to it and inherently neutral: "the British army is being terribly brainwashed and acquiring the hard outlook of a repressive, counterrevolutionary, anti-working class and anti-democratic institution which looks on those who are demanding democratic and national rights as the enemy." (CPGB theoretician, Jack Woddis, *Armies and Politics*, 1977 p275). In

one sentence Woddis rejected both Marx's understanding of the state as the repressive organ of the rule of a definite class, and Lenin's theory of imperialism as necessary to moribund twentieth century capitalism and no mere policy. All that was needed, then, was a *British Road* style left Labour government and everything would be hunky-dory. In practice the rest of the left, noticeably the Socialist League, have followed our Party down this path of the progressive 'next Labour government'.

Unsurprisingly, after Bloody Sunday our Party was no different from others on the left who combined liberal hand-wringing with denunciation of those who did take up the liberation struggle concretely: "The real fight against those responsible for [Bloody Sunday] will be hindered not helped by bombings such as that carried out at Aldershot yesterday... They make more difficult the forging of unity between the working people of Britain and... Northern Ireland." (*Morning Star*, February 26 1972). Condemnation of the Provisional IRA and INLA still clogs the pages of the *Morning Star* and *7 Days*, not to mention the various publications of many petty-bourgeois left groups. Why is this so?

Is it to break British workers from their illusions in 'individual terrorism'? Since these workers are generally opposed to the violence of all, except their own bourgeoisie, this can hardly be the case.

The reason for such lectures and condemnation directed at the republican movement is an attempt at an 'easy play' to the existing consciousness of British workers. The more you accommodate to such — bourgeois — consciousness, the less likely you are to have the repressive apparatus of the state used against you, and the easier it is — at least, so the theory goes — to

recruit.

Such cravings for respectability, conscious or unconscious, are short cuts to nowhere, as the numbers on Irish demonstrations prove.

It is not sectarian to fight to expose such opportunism, but the only way forward, and the way which our Party once adhered to: "In lending every assistance to Ireland, it is not only necessary to attack the government, but also to warn our Irish friends that the political and trade union leaders of the British Labour movement are as dangerous to them as a Lloyd George or a Hamar Greenwood" (William Paul, *The Irish Crisis*, CPGB pamphlet, 1921).

Real solidarity with Ireland's struggle entails a resolute fight in Britain against all those sections of the working class with a stake in Ireland's continued subjugation through their bureaucratic privilege. Those who neglect such a fight retreat from, or neutralise, solidarity. Lenin was unequivocal on the communist position: "There is one, and one only, kind of real internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and other material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line in every country without exception."

In Britain today this means fighting against the subordination of effective action to the election of a Labour government, or to getting the names of 'big time' labour movement bureaucrats on the bottom of sponsor sheets. We cannot defeat British imperialism in Ireland by selling ourselves to its agents in our ranks.

Alan Merrik

Britain's defeat — our victory!  
Victory to Ireland!  
Make Ireland Thatcher's Vietnam!  
Troops out now!